361
351 The village is a group of houses, each with its own compound, and these give it an inclosed look. There are few if any gardens or vegetable patches either in the compounds or within the village settlement.

363 The lanes resemble quiet winding country roads. The rock fences, or the lines of trees or shrubbery often conceal the houses. There is an appearance of loneliness in these lanes and roads, except at busy times of the day when the children return from school. The lack of commercial [482] activity, except for the women carrying rice on their heads to the mill [462] and for the small village stores, contributes to this impression of quiet, which one would expect from the routine of agriculture. At night, when [354] the doors are drawn, and when the flickering and smoky oil lamps are lit, the loneliness and quiet of the village is even more pronounced. The [493] lanes and the roads are deserted, save for an occasional passing truck, bicycle, or three wheeled cycle, and in one of the favorite words of all [192] Okinawans, the place is sabishii.[6]

366 Since there is little activity in the village other than farming, neighboring villages and distant towns supply the additional needs. At 368 nearby Gushichan village, there are the primary and junior high schools, the post office, the township and agricultural association offices, a barbershop, and some small stores. At Minatogawa, about one and one half miles away, there is a public bath, and across the river from this village, in Horikawa, an occasional play from the Okinawan stage, or a movie. Buses run through the village twice a day and one can make connections to Naha or Itoman, the two most likely places for buying [494] or selling. Or one can take the three wheeled cycles which pass through more frequently.

927 Physically, the village was much affected by the war. On June 11, 1945, the front line ran through the cultivated area between Hanashiro 362 and Gushichan villages. Hill 95, the scene of fierce fighting was in the vicinity of Hanashiro.[7] One can still see an occasional tank track, abandoned helmets and scattered fragments of war materials in the fields. The village was affected by the war in ways which are now observable [355] indirectly in the makeshift houses, improvised shacks, the roofs of half tile and half thatch, the odd additions to the older buildings partly destroyed, and the lack of drain pipes and water catchment tanks. Houses, which to superficial appearance, have existed for generations, have [311] been rebuilt since the war with grass substituting for the tile roofs. War operations over the cultivated areas also resulted in some loss of land. A long mound in the rice areas, with paths along its ridge, was formerly a road built by the Americans in the final drive toward Mabuni. Almost all the houses in the village were destroyed.

6 This Japanese word suggests both loneliness and melancholy.

7 Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 437 (illustration), 434-42 on the struggle for Hill 95.

241 514 occasionally, but by no means universally used. This failure to use night soil may vary from locality to locality, and from farmer to farmer. In my opinion, it has not the importance it has in China and Japan. Neither is night soil used as a food for pigs, though this seems to have been the case in some parts of Okinawa as late as the 1920's.[2] But feeding human faeces to pigs was not observed in any village.

241 514 Normally in certain parts of Matsuda, night soil is used, though infrequently, in places near the house. It is not carried far. Applications are made to cultivated land and land not presently in use. In the Nagamo area, it is occasionally used on sweet potatoes and sugar cane. Night soil, gathered from the outside toilets, is [247] allowed to dry out before being applied to fields. It is often placed around ornamental plants. The fresh liquid form, carried on [182] the shoulder in two buckets on either end of a long pole, may be applied directly to the fields, ladling out a little of the liquid around [463] each plant. The professional collector of night soil is uncommon in the areas visited. Only one instance was found. Two brothers, who hired themselves out, cleaned the toilets for Yen 130 per day, plus meals. They spread the night soil on the owner's fields. These two brothers served the Gushichan area.

In Hanashiro, night soil is used occasionally, and then, it was said, only by the old. Its main use was on sugar cane. As a general rule, in all the villages, night soil is most frequently used around plants already growing and around each plant individually, rather than mixing it with the soil when the field is being prepared. Its use on rice fields was not observed.

The sparing use of night soil is indicated also by the infrequency with which one meets its characteristic odor in the countryside. An observation of a traveller, almost 100 years ago, lends some credence to the thought that night soil has not been extensively used [114] in Okinawa. "How night-soil is disposed of is not known; certainly it does not obtrude itself on the senses, as it does in China, nor is it applied in the same way."[3] In Hanashiro, the decline in use since the [177] war was ascribed to American influences: the dangers to health, and the increased availability of artificial fertilizers.

241 (5) Commercial fertilizers. These are now substantial proportions of the expenditures of an Okinawan farmer. These fertilizers generally are broadcast over the rice and dry crop lands. The writers of a

2 Richard Goldschmidt, Neu-Japan, as cited, 135.

3 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, II, 35. The author was Dr. Green.

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221

Rotation #2, Matsuda

First year, ninth month: Autumn planting of sugar cane
Second year, twelfth month: Harvest of sugar cane. Followed by: Soy bean, sweet potato, or vegetables.

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Land is seldom allowed to lie fallow intentionally for any length of time. At any one time of the year, a farmer may have idle land for which there may be a variety of reasons. He may have other tasks and be unable to cultivate all his land, or have no need of doing so, or some of his land may be so poor that he will not cultivate it unless necessary. Much depends on the individual farmer and his holdings. The village records indicate that in Hanashiro 97.2% of the rice and 83.1% of the dry crop land is under cultivation. From the preceding discussion of land classification, it is clear that many parcels are of marginal quality, and these areas may be left uncultivated, at least part of the year. During the post-war [426] period there has been some informal lending of land, free of rent, to friends and neighbors, if the farmer is not using it himself.

24
[231]
[227]

Manual labor with hand tools is the dominant method of cultivation. Domestic animals are not uncommon, but their use in farming is minor. The war increased the dependence on manual labor through the loss of domestic animals. Only cattle are now used in rice cultivation for plowing and harrowing and this is infrequent. The man or woman and the hoe are far more common. Crops are carried from the [482] fields by human labor. The basket or the straw container, or the [415] tied rice sheaves on either end of a pole over the shoulder, and not horse carts, push carts, or wheel barrows are the main means of [493] transport from field to courtyard. The barefooted farmer, with his hoe and a pole or a basket does the greatest part of the work. The common tools of agriculture are hand tools and adapted to the intensive cultivation which so often has more properly been called the work of a gardener rather than that of a farmer.

412

The basic all purpose tool is the solid bladed hoe. The hoe, since deep cuts are possible with its heavy blade, takes the place of the plow. The hoe also replaces the spade, and even the rake, for it can be used to break up and smooth the soil. A poorer farmer may lack [434] many of the tools in the following list, but he will have two or three of the solid bladed hoes.

The accompanying illustration shows the most common agricultural tools:

1. The hera, a spatula or trowel, used for transplanting tops of the sweet potato. Its wooden hand grip curves toward the end of the tool. The hera is also used as a scraper to remove brown sugar from the sides of the cooking pans during the sugar making season.

2. The kama, a small sickle. Next to the hoe, it is the most

243 inches high, the bottom of the paddy becomes a tangled mass. Farmers walk disconsolately away from a field like this, often without even attempting to harvest the crop. The seeds once soaked will produce inferior rice. In this case, the farmer may turn the whole crop under or salvage some for pig food. The growing of rice is one long gamble with the wind and with typhoons, and there is seldom a year in which some rice is not destroyed.

[221] The harvest. The cutting of rice at harvest time, July and November in the western calendar, is done in a uniform manner. (Harvest times may vary somewhat from place to place). A bunch of the long stalks is grasped in one hand and cut off with the small sickle. A stubble of a few inches is left in the field. The sheaves are tied up with a piece of rice straw and thrown in piles. The commonest and most convenient way of carrying the sheaves from the field is to tie several together. A large bundle of these is carried on either end of a pole which rests on the shoulder. The ends of the pole are cut like tenons and stuck in the bundles below the binding. The rice is carried to the courtyard to be threshed. If necessary, it will be allowed to dry for a few days.

[482]

243 907 Threshing, hulling, and milling. Rice is threshed either in the courtyard of the home or in a flat place near the house. During rice harvest, the threshing machines can be heard all over the village, the noise suggesting the sounds of cars on a railroad track, heard from a distance. The device now universally used for threshing rice is the dakkoki.

This has a foot treadle, similar to an old fashioned sewing machine. Working the treadle up and down causes a drum, set at about waist length, to revolve. This drum has a series of wires set in rows and bent over, appearing like large staples. These staples are parallel with the line of rotation of the drum.

A conveniently handled bunch of stalks (wara) is held on the revolving drum, the rice seeds touch the staples, which knock the kernels off. They drop to the floor of the device. Often the top has a canvas cover to catch the flying rice kernels and the machines is set in the middle of a large piece of canvas so that the grain can easily be recovered. Both men and women do this work, although women seem to do more of it. They are free to work while at home, alternating the task with other chores. They keep up with the man and the elder children who are carrying the rice bundles in from the fields. After threshing, rice straw is thrown aside. It has many subsequent uses.

[467]

[177] The dakkoki, an introduction from Japan, is new in Okinawa. In Hanashiro it has been used scarcely 15 years. Prior to this, more primitive methods were used which can still be observed in Matsuda today. These old methods are no longer important, but they are of interest because they were used, instead of the treadle thresher, up to pre-war times.

256 until the desired white shade was obtained. After the milling, the rice is quite warm, and both the chaff and the rice have an odor similar to brewer's yeast.

[462] [482] [415] Women carry the rice to the mill. It is heaped up in baskets set on their heads. Rice straw or a braid of rice stalks is placed over the small towel which rests directly on the head. On this the woman sets the basket with its rice. When the milling is over, the women pick up a handful, blow off the chaff, inspect the rice for wholeness and whiteness, and then put it in a large gunny sack. The chaff is placed in a smaller one. Hulls, occasionally taken, are usually left at the mill to accumulate in a pile outside the mill and there, at [824] frequent intervals, are burned. Sometimes the hulls or the ashes are taken for fertilizer.

[521] Bringing rice for milling is a social occasion for the women. They often have a child on their back. While waiting for their rice to be hulled and milled, they exchange greetings and news with their neighbors or with women from adjoining villages.

[727] As a result of the war, quality of machinery for rice milling differs with villages. Most now have access to a mill. The machinery at Matsuda, being more efficient than the older machines at Hanashiro is able to polish the rice satisfactorily after going through the mill three times. These mills are very busy during the harvest seasons.

252 [412] There are also survivals of older methods of hulling and polishing rice. These are no longer used, though many of the old have not lost their skill. Before machine polishing was introduced, the hulls were removed by pounding the rice in a mortar, usually with a long bamboo pole narrowed in the center for a grip. After the hulls were removed, the rice was put through a quern, or a mill known as a shiriushi. This has two working parts: a base about a foot in diameter and perhaps a foot in height. It looks like a smoothed off log. In the center, there is a wooden pin, perhaps 1 1/2 feet long. Over this part, which looks like an upright piece of a log with a rolling pin stuck in its center, the upper part, made of wood and of the same diameter is fitted. A bar across the inside of the top of the upper part has a hole for the pin. On the outside, wooden plugs provide places for attaching ropes. [462] These are pulled back and forth by women sitting opposite one another. The rice is poured in at the top, the quern is moved first clock- and then counterclockwise, the rice coming out in the rough crevice where the two pieces join. The rice is put through the quern as many times as is necessary to effect the polishing. In some querns, the inside of the upper part is grooved to quicken the polishing.

In polishing rice in this way, the mill is placed on a mat and the rice is gathered up periodically and put in baskets. It is then winnowed by tossing in a flat basket. Many of the farmers in the village still have a shiriushi in their sheds, but it is seldom used.

Rice may also be polished by the use of rude wooden mallets. 252
These have a handle about 3 feet long and a head about 1 1/2 feet [412]
long. Rice is placed in a mortar with straw on top. It is pounded, often by two or three women swinging alternately. After the hulls are removed, the rice is winnowed, and put back in the mortar until a rough polish is secured.

Uses of rice. Every part of the rice plant has a use. The 824
stubble, left in the ground, becomes a part of next season's fertilizer. The chaff and waste dust (nuka) is saved for pigs, cows, and other domestic animals. The hulls often are used for fertilizer, before or after burning. Rice straw has a variety of uses. The most frequent and important of these is for making rope.

After threshing, the straw is dried two or three days. Three [283]
or four stalks of about the same length are taken and rolled between the palms. The lower palm, usually the left, is open and up. The right palm rolls the straw into a twist. As the rope grows, new stalks are inserted one at a time, and, when needed, a new length of straw is added. This is not a strong rope, but it has a variety of uses, such as tying down the grass thatch to the roof poles, children's swings, and clothes lines. Mats and pads shaped like a [285]
life saver and used to set the sugar pots on after the sugar has been boiled, are made out of rice straw. Another use is in the making of the Ōda (Okinawan). This is a mesh about one foot wide and two feet long. There are loops on each corner. The end of a pole may be in- [482]
serted in these loops when gathered together. The pole is carried over the shoulder, and sweet potatoes, straw, or other articles may be easily transported. Simple brooms without a handle, little more than [417]
a bunch of straw tied together in three places are also made of rice straw. Twisting and braiding rice straw is likely to be rainy day work. These articles are most often made twice in the year, corresponding with the harvests.

At typhoon times, if rice is not completely destroyed, the [731]
damaged rice may be used for pig food. The preparation of this rice [231]
is women's work. The rice is put in a mortar and pounded with a [462]
mallet in the manner already described, although a single operator usually does the work.

Types and preferences. As a general rule, the selection of 243
varieties of rice for planting depends on taste, the nature of the soils, and individual judgment of the expected yield of each type. In Matsuda, it is estimated that about one half of the rice is the Formosan variety, Taichu 65 (Taichu rokujugo), in Okinawa known as horai. Another variety, Kunigami 31 (Kunigami ichigo) represents about one-fourth of the crop. Mochigome (akaho) takes up about another one- [262]
fourth. This glutinous rice has a brown reddish rust colored kernel and is used for rice cakes. A fourth variety, horai-mochimai, is also well liked. No black rice is grown here.

In Matsuda, the stalk is cut up with a large knife. In Nagano and Hanashiro, the oshikiriba (literally, push-cut-machine) is common. This is a device with a fixed blade, curving upward, on a stand. The cane is laid on the top of the blade. The handle is pressed down, forcing the cane stalk through the stationary blade. The use of this device is not universal. In the north, the hand cutting machine was a casualty of the war. 249 184

It is worth a slight digression here to add that, in considering various techniques as evidences of a departure from or adherence to traditional methods, the effects of the recent war must constantly be borne in mind. Sugar making is a good example. Primitive methods of making it today are a return, out of economic necessity, to earlier ways because of lack of capital to replace the former machinery. In Matsuda, the continued use of the horse drawn crushing rollers is not an expression of conservatism but of improvisation and return, in lieu of anything better, to old methods previously in use. Such devices as the oshikiriba are not good examples of this because it is not a decisively superior tool. A skilled farmer can cut the cane very efficiently with his knife. 178 727 249

Cane cuttings are made when the plant is about six months old and before it is mature. When year old plants are used for cuttings, only the top, or the youngest part is taken. The slip used may have two or three joints or buds. The length of the cutting apparently is determined by the number of joints. In Matsuda, slant planting seems to be favored because the plant is said to receive more water and to be able to withstand typhoons better. Flat planting is faster than slope planting. From one stalk usually five or six transplants are made. 249

There are two plantings of sugar cane, the spring (haru-ue) and the fall (akiue). Cane planted in the spring planting, from January to March, is harvested in April of the following year. In the fall planting from July to September, the cane is harvested a year from the following December. The cane of the fall planting is harvested but the stumps are allowed to sprout and grow again. Following this harvest, the whole plant is torn out and the field is replanted with slips. Though the ratoon crop could be continued longer, the general practice is to tear up the plants after the second growth. 249 221

The slips are about 8 sun (9.6 inches) long. In Hanashiro, they are generally planted flat with the exception of the slip nearest the top of the cane stalk, which is planted at about a 45° angle, the theory being that this part of the stalk has less vitality than the others. These slips are planted about 6-8 inches apart, 8-12 inches deep in rows about 4 feet apart. 249

In Hanashiro, at harvest time, the sugar cane is carried on the shoulder or by horsecart and stacked in piles outside the sugar mill. Though an effort is made to crush it immediately, cuttings may remain overnight or be stacked for a day or two outside the mill. The mill [482] [493]

226 476 The boat, as in the previous example, is considered a person. The cook is usually a boy about 16 or 17 years old. If we further assume a catch valued at Y10,000, with a deduction of Y1000 for gas and oil, there is a remainder of Y9,000 to be divided. The boat's share, A, is 30%, or Y2700, with Y6300 for further distribution. The following formula is then applied to this remainder:

Captain	1.5 shares
Engineer	1.5 shares
Fishermen	7.0 shares, one for each of 7 men
Cook	0.7 shares
	10.7

The value of each share is Y588.78 (Y6300 divided by 10.7). If the amounts are rounded off, the final distribution is:

Captain	Y883 (1.5 x 588.78)
Engineer	883 (1.5 x 588.78)
Fishermen	4121 (1 x 588.78 x 7)
Cook	412 (0.7 x 588.78)
	Y6300

The distribution takes place at the conclusion of a voyage. Obligations (giri) between the owner and the others, on these larger boats, are also based on custom. If a crew member is injured on a voyage and prevented from going on the next one, he receives a share for the voyage he was on, and some money, depending on the catch but not a full share, during convalescence. If a fisherman is ill and has been injured outside of his work, he does not receive this consideration.

5

Sale and Distribution of Fish

443 962 435 The sale and the distribution of fish is the work of women. Men occasionally do this, but their function is to catch the fish, maintain the boats and gear, and make the lures. The bulk of the fish is sold at Naha because the highest prices generally are paid there. This makes it difficult for adjacent villages to obtain fish, even in season. When the fish is especially plentiful and low in price at Naha, the women go to the agricultural villages of the interior. Fish are carried in baskets. The pre-war custom of carrying the fish basket on the head and walking from village to village, or to the railroad station at Kochinda, thence by rail to Naha, has given way to truck, bus, or the three wheeled cycle. Often in the evening, these cycles, which can seat six comfortably, are filled with eight or ten laughing and voluble women, and their fish, the vehicle chugging slowly and painfully up and then coasting down the grades.

415 482 994

000 One can infrequently observe women walking from Hinatogawa to

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

40% of the proceeds. The trees thus sold are all cut down. After clearcutting, the area is left to natural reseeding. About twenty years hence, the clearing will again be sufficiently forested to permit repetition of the same procedure. This follows an established Japanese pre-war practice. This was known as the five year period share (gonenkanbun). The forest is divided into subdivisions, each 110 chō in area. (A chō is 2.45 acres). These 110 chō plots are in turn subdivided into five parcels of twenty-two chō each. Each year one of these five subdivisions may be cleared.

Throughout the forest, divided up into these plots, there may be a five year cycle of cutting, but not all the plots are available every year. If this were so, the forest could be cut over in five years. The system is planned so that there will always be parcels being cleared, those in various stages of regrowth, and mature stands. During and after the war, this practice broke down in favor of uncontrolled cutting.

If a family has little cash, a villager may pay his taxes in part by cutting wood. The village office pays Y½ for a bundle of firewood (late 1951), Y? going to the villager as a cash payment, and Y2 being applied to his taxes for the year.

The farmer makes frequent excursions to the mountains to obtain firewood or poles to make improvements in the compound, such as repairing a tool or food shed. Men do this work, especially when the distances are far, but the participation of women is by no means exceptional. Along the roads of northern Okinawa, one can frequently see old women walking down from the mountains carrying bundles of firewood on heavy poles. Much of the wood is hand carried from the mountains; if the farmer has a horse and cart or a truck, the wood is carried to a convenient road for loading and transport.

Charcoal is manufactured in the forest area. In Okinawa charcoal has many uses, mainly for heating and cooking, and for charcoal sticks (senko). Lumps of charcoal are placed in braziers and the sticks are used as touchwood in place of matches and in ceremonial and religious observances. Charcoal containers (tangu) are often constructed on the spot. These are round or box-shaped and made out of the dwarf bamboo.

Charcoal kilns are privately owned. They are of the simplest sort. The kiln may be covered with a rude housing, built up by poles and a thatch roof. A mound of large boulders and dirt is built with an opening on the dirt floor running the length of the firing area. Poles which have been stripped and cut in various lengths, from five to nine feet, are shoved in the opening and moved forward as they burn. The smoke comes out the back.

Forest maintenance and improvement is, in part, a result of community endeavor. With some exceptions, each person in the village from 16 to 60 participates one day a year in forest improvement (sōrin).[8] The participants are boys past school age, unmarried girls, and all men up to the age of 60. These people work without personal remunera-

[8] The usual meaning of sōrin is afforestation or reforestation. In Matsuda it is used in the sense of care and improvement of the forest.

854 wherever the mother goes. The age at which this begins varies, some saying 20 days, others two months. But on the average, it probably is about one month.

[171] This custom, known as onbu in Japanese, is identical with the practice in rural Japan. The child is strapped on by crossing
[482] the sash in front of the mother, crisscrossing it above the baby's buttocks, and then bringing the binding around the mother's waist where the sash is securely tied in front. In the summer, the child may only wear a diaper-like garment. The child is carried on the back until he begins to walk. But there is often a long transition period, and the child is carried at times long after he has learned to walk, perhaps until he is 3 years of age. I have seen boys of 4 still being carried on the mother's back.

At one time or another, the infant is carried by every member of the family physically able to do so, the child accommodating itself effortlessly to the activities of his elder. Its longest continual contact is with the mother. A mother does most of her chores with the child on her back. The child is with her when she is scrubbing the plank floors on her knees, carrying in firewood, building a fire, cooking, when she is turning the quern to make bean curd, shopping, or doing the laundry. If occasion requires, she unstraps the child, changes the diaper-like cloth, for diapers are unusual, and allows it to sleep a while on the thick comforter.

[857] When school is out, the mother may get a rest. The baby is taken over by the eldest girl. In communities where there are many girls, few young boys are seen carrying their young brothers or sisters, although carrying by boys is very common in the absence of elder sisters. Sometimes older children begin so young that they look small under the load of a fat or plump baby. In the fishing village, a father might walk around in the evening either with the child strapped on his back, or if the child is big enough, he puts his arms around the father's neck and his legs around the father's waist. Occasionally in the agricultural villages, a father carries a small child around in his work basket. The basket is tied to the end of a pole which rests on the shoulder. Children enjoy this.

[859] Children who carry the babies around do not allow this to interfere with their activities. They play games, such as tag, hide and seek, and a kind of hop scotch. They walk surefootedly along the sharp, and often dangerous, coral rocks of the seashore, along narrow hill or mountain paths, wherever inclination leads them.

The ability of the infant child to sleep under these circumstances is remarkable. Once the child is strapped on the back, he is given little further attention. He seldom cries unless in discomfort. Most often he goes to sleep. His head in sleep frequently falls at right angles with the shoulders, and he sleeps like this while his mother

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

During the primary and junior high school years, no exacting demands are made at home. Young girls after school strap the baby on their back and go out to play, or they may fetch water from the well, pond, or faucet, carrying it home in buckets hanging from a pole resting on their shoulders, or they may help in preparing the evening meal. Younger boys, 12 and over, help with feeding the pigs or run errands, but they have more leisure than the girls. There is night study at home, including practice on the abacus and reading to which the parents listen, correcting the errors. Formal education, for a large majority, ends with the completion of junior high school.

As children grow older, they continue in off hours to help around the home, help which follows the lines of the male and female division of labor of adulthood. This is not a strict division, as there are many areas in which both sexes do common chores. In the agricultural villages, girls continue to help around the home, carry water, and hoe in the sweet potato patches. In the fishing village, they also carry water, help with the laundry, and start helping the older women in selling and distributing fish. The boys work more in the paddies. In the fishing village, they may make trips to the sea, but as a rule, this does not begin until later.

For those who go to senior high school, there is a noticeable change from the earlier school experience. They enter at about 14 or 15 and remain in high school 3 years. It is a period of growing maturity, and the older they get the shyer they seem to become. Girl's hair is allowed to grow longer, perhaps to neck or shoulder length, less often in long braids, and the bangs remain. A big change takes place in the hair styles of the boys. The close clipped haircut is abandoned and the hair is allowed to grow long. Often it is not cut at all on the top, so that in two or three years, it has acquired considerable length.

The child who leaves school at the end of primary or junior high school is more quickly absorbed in the daily work life and traditional occupations of the family. The senior high school student has teaching, clerking, translating, or other white collar work in mind. The boy who leaves school earlier might drive a truck or a horse cart, or adopt the occupation of his father. This is likely to be a time killing period for those young men who live in the fishing village or whose families lack land.

6

Early Adulthood and the Engagement

In early adulthood and before marriage, a son of the house might be given a separate room or a small outlying shed which he fixes up for himself. The young girls, more and more, assume full time duties in the home, relieving the mother. Often the mother and her young daughter work together in the fields. These mature young girls also may take over the care of younger children. Young men from 17 on are

1:Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

The Division of Labor

462

In all the villages there is a division of labor between the sexes. There are, however, wide areas in which men and women do the same work. In Matsuda and Hanashiro, the usual tasks of the women were the care of the children, maintaining the house and its surroundings, excluding heavy work or repairs, laundering, making foods like bean curd and bean paste, taking rice to the mill, hoeing sweet potatoes and gathering tops for the pigs.

Men, in the main, plant and transplant rice, hoe, plow, and harrow the rice field, cut the rice, make house and compound repairs, and help others in housebuilding. Men carry the main burden of agriculture, though women frequently give a great deal of help. In Matsuda, men get firewood from the mountains. Wood and other fuel from nearby spots are gathered by women. Both men and women may take care of pigs, or operate the rice treadle thresher. Daily feeding of the pigs and the smashing of sweet potatoes in a stone mortar with a long wooden pestle is usually the work of women.

The small shops are generally operated by women. Men who do so are likely to be in poor health or disabled for heavy work. Weaving grasses and rushes for rugs or baskets is done by men. If the farmer has a surplus, the wife generally sells it. The produce for sale is carried in baskets on the head. (Head carrying is more common in the southern villages than in Matsuda). [482]

887

This division of labor between the sexes becomes indistinct among the old. Old men and women, if able, work at some task until they die. In the south, they may often be seen gathering grass on the mountain sides. The very old do many of the tasks of their prime, but they neither work so long or so hard. This is especially true in agriculture.

462

In the fishing village, a division of labor also takes place. The men are responsible for catching fish and for maintaining the boats and the gear, the women for the sale and distribution of the fish. The old fisherman contents himself with repairs and general maintenance; the old stonecutter does the chipping and the bevelling.

[887]

Grandmothers assume the care and supervision of older children, while the mother is preoccupied with the baby. The old woman may also do cooking, house cleaning, laundering and feed the pigs. Care of pigs is often an incidental chore in a woman's daily routine.

312 water is diverted from a stream a mile
365 above the village and piped into the upper and lower tanks where
482 people fill their buckets which they carry home on a shoulder yoke.
859 Both tanks always attract children. Before faucets were installed, the two spigots on each tank were closed with a wooden stopper which the children often pulled to get a drink or water to play in. An open lot surrounding the upper water tank is another popular play area.

361 On the eastern side of the village below the main road lies a flat sandy plain, separating the actual beach from the houses above. Children are frequently found playing there or walking along the beach to the mouth of the Noro Mata and Fukuji rivers, which reach the sea
764 about 400 yards away. To the west of the central village lie the tombs
211 and the monument for the war dead of the village.

487 Many hills around the village drop off vertically toward the south;
133 these drops are partly effects of the geological conditions, such as karst depressions, partly caused by erosion of drainage during the heavy rains. Narrow paths, leading up the steep claylike hillsides, are slippery
491 and very treacherous during rains. On the way to school in Kawata, the neighboring village, children have to pass a section of the road where river and rains have washed away the bank so badly that a misstep on the edge of the road could lead to a fall of more than 50 feet.

312 The little river which runs through parts of the valley behind Taira
857 is another gathering place of children. A path alongside it leads into
487 the hills and mountain forest lands. Seven minutes walking along this path takes one to Umugui, a natural swimming hole which also serves as one of the favorite laundry places. During the summer the river offers several other popular swimming spots downstream from Umugui.
296 There is also a little concrete bridge in the rice fields beyond the houses, where adults and children go to wash laundry and sometimes pots and pans. Yamagawa well is a water hole, lined with concrete, near the northwestern part of Taira. Before water faucets were installed, girls frequently went there to wash their hair and do laundry.

859 Children go to the fields to look for flowers and berries or, in the
484 case of older boys, to cut grass for animals. Distances covered by any child depend, of course, on the age. Younger siblings under 5 accompany the older ones to places beyond the area, but no expeditions extend to areas that are not also regularly traversed by adults in the course of their daily duties. Perhaps because of the multiple rivers and water sources, the beach offers less enticement than one might expect. On some days a group may decide to play on the beach, but since sand is also available throughout the village, everybody will soon shift back to some other area inland.

137 Tropical plants, bushes, and trees grow at sea level. At higher ele-

462 heavy sods in the rice paddy; nevertheless, women and younger girls
[241] often do this work along with the men and boys if time runs short. There are some women who prepare their farm land without the help of their husbands.

[313] In mountain work, women produce almost as much as men except that they do not handle the large logs. Even pregnant women make
[843] three or four daily mountain trips, sometimes up until the day of
[482] childbirth. Only the mode of carrying wood, like any load, differs for the sexes: a man uses a carrying stick supported on his shoulder, with two bundles attached to each end; a woman carries bundles on her back, tied and held in place by a tump line tied over her forehead. Women can carry loads of 100 to 120 pounds in this manner.

[312] Men seldom carry water from the tank or faucet to the house; this is considered women's work, although younger boys are expected to
241 help at times. Work in the potato fields is mainly women's respon-
462 sibility. Their hands are also preferred in rice transplanting, where dexterity is needed in pulling out the tender shoots from the seed bed and replanting them in straight rows at measured intervals. Occasionally a young man helps, and boys sometimes try to work along with their sisters when they learn transplanting. Both men and women sow
462 the seed beds. In special activities, such as house building, a more dis-
[342] tinct division of labor can be observed. In any building activity, men do the structural work and women carry materials and cook for the
[653] men. The same division of labor is found on community projects, road building, fencing against wild pigs, or repairing the water pipes. In general, however, no special comment is made if either a man or woman performs work usually done by the opposite sex.

887 Men and women work in the fields and forests from ages 15 to 60.
462 When they approach 60, men like to "retire." If possible, they turn
[464] over their responsibilities as household heads to their eldest sons. From then on, they tend to stay home more and more. They can still help with less demanding work, making bamboo rings for firewood bundles, sawing wood, or doing odd jobs around the house. Approaching old age, most men become economically useless and in other ways contribute little to society. For old women, quite the contrary is true. Even grandmothers who are well over 60 seem strong and active. Most of
[241] them go to the fields to plant or harvest potatoes or other vegetables. One woman, well into her sixties and bent over from arthritis, took long walks to distant potato fields, with a heavy load of slips or potatoes in a basket on her back, a hoe on top of it, supporting herself on a
[855] stick. Other grandmothers look after the youngest children, thus freeing the mother for work. Old women also cook, help bundle firewood,

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Women washing at water tank.

Women transplanting rice.

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Women transplanting.

Carrying wood.

[482]

[p 456-B]

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Children catching small fish.

Girls washing their laundry.

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→
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Carrying water while their mother is recovering from giving birth.

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Boy harvesting.

[p. 456-C]

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Young girl carrying baby sister.

Boys wrestling.

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Playing house.

Mother about to nurse her daughter says, "Now say please."

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[p 456-D]